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Mémoire
présenté pour l'obtention du Grade de
MASTER

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Mention 2nd degré, Professeur des Lycées et Collèges, Anglais**

Referendum on the Independence of Scotland : the Campaign (2012-2014)

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A. PARTIE DISCIPLINAIRE

Introduction

I wanted to work on Scotland and on its desire for independence and I decided to focus on the referendum campaign, that is to say the two years before the referendum (from 2012 to 2014) since it was the first time the Scots were directly asked if they wanted to have an independent country. If the majority had answered “yes”, it would have been a historical event.

This piece of work having a limited number of pages, I had to restrict my research, that is why I chose these two years in particular. However, an explanation about how Scotland had reached this point was compulsory and I thought that a part of my work had to deal with Scotland and its relation to independence. Many studies have been published about this subject since it was a highly important event for the country and some were written especially to explain the situation, what would happen if Scotland became independent and what would happen if it did not.

I worked a lot with *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance ? Le référendum de 2014* by Nathalie Duclos and *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance – Le référendum d'autodétermination de 2014* by Edwige Camp-Pietrain. These two books were written by French writers and I appreciated the fact that they were presented without really taking part for one side or another in the debate, they were only factual and let me understand the main points of the 2014 referendum. The campaign obviously implied advertising and commitment, so I found numerous articles, interviews, caricatures, posters and videos. Many people including celebrities gave their opinion and it was interesting to understand why they would vote “yes” or “no” and to have their opinion about what would happen in any case. Some articles helped me a lot like “Committed Tuppence-worth: When Celebrities Dabble in Scottish Politics” by Robert Wirth and “Better Together and the No Campaign: from Project Fear to Grace?” by Fiona Simpkins. However, it was sometimes difficult to make the difference between real facts and information that was invented by people to convince the others. Some works were occasionally too “pro-independence” or “pro-union”.

The main issues here will be to understand how Scotland came to this referendum on independence, what was at stake but above all, how the campaign from 2012 to 2014, advertising and commitment, led to this result which was not expected a few weeks before the vote.

Trying to make these issues clearer, I will start with an explanation of Scotland's relation to independence, coming back to the previous referendums. Then, I will examine the campaign for Scotland to become independent and the "Yes Scotland" camp. Finally, I will analyze the campaign for Scotland to stay within the United Kingdom and the "Better Together" camp.

I. Scotland's relation to independence

I.1. The 1979 referendum

After Elizabeth I, who was childless, died, her distant relative, James VI of Scotland, came onto the throne and became the first King of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1603. Scotland, which all the same remained an independent country until 1707, became part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain with England that year. Indeed, the Act of Union united the two countries (Ireland joined them in 1801). Scotland lost its Parliament and the Scottish members went to Westminster, even though the Act provided that nothing would change for Scotland concerning law or the Church for example¹.

The Kilbrandon Commission was created in 1969 by the Labour Government and set the following terms of reference:

To examine the present functions of the present legislature and government in relation to the several countries, nations and regions of the United Kingdom;

To consider, having regard to changes in local government organisation and in the administrative and other relationships between the various parts of the United Kingdom, and to the interest of the prosperity and good government and our people under the Crown, whether any changes are desirable in those functions or otherwise in present constitutional and economic relationships;

To consider also whether any changes are desirable in the constitutional and economic relationships between the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man².

In 1973, the report of this Commission stated that Scotland should have its own devolved legislature and that the Scottish Government should be able to take decisions concerning health, environment, education, the legislature, social services and internal issues.

Scotland has always wanted a certain degree of independence, and in 1979, a referendum was proposed in Scotland, supported by James Callaghan and his Labour

¹ Françoise Grellet, *A Cultural Guide To: The United Kingdom and Ireland, The Commonwealth, The United States*, p.29.

² *Royal Commission on the Constitution 1969-1973*, Volume I.

Government³, “as a last desperate attempt to impede progress of a Parliament Bill”⁴. They wanted to be more autonomous within the United Kingdom. The Scotland Act had been voted in 1978 on condition that there would be a referendum to ask the question about devolution to the Scottish residents⁵. The question was “Do you want the Provisions of the Scotland Act 1978 to be put into effect?”: 51.6% voted in favour of devolution but only 32.9% of the electorate voted, instead of 40% required by the Cunningham Amendment for the Act to pass; that is why the latter was repealed and James Callaghan was replaced by Margaret Thatcher. In an article from *The Scotsman*, Chris Baur wrote: “[W]e were not after all, as we may have fondly imagined, engaged in a solemn and historic consultation with our parliamentarians [...] the device of the referendum is in fact little more than a shady plaything of party politicians”⁶.

³ “The Labour Party, traditionally the party of the working class, linked to the trade unions, defending public ownership and high public spending on social services and education”, Françoise Grellet, *A Cultural Guide To: The United Kingdom and Ireland, The Commonwealth, The United States*, p.40.

⁴ Gordon Wilson, *Scotland: The Battle for Independence*, p.42.

⁵ Nathalie Duclos, *L’Ecosse en quête d’indépendance? Le référendum de 2014*, p.65.

⁶ Chris Baur, “Time to Lay down Referendum Rules”, *The Scotsman*. Repris dans *L’Ecosse en quête d’indépendance*, p.69.

I.2. The 1997 referendum

The Scots just put the idea of devolution aside for a while and came back with another referendum in 1997, supported by Tony Blair who would keep up John Smith's policy by giving more powers to Scotland. Tony Blair's aim was to pull the rug out from under the SNP's⁷ feet since he was a member of the Labour government. "White papers", long and detailed programs, were proposed to people before voting, to let them know what would happen thanks to devolution. Contrary to the 1979 referendum, this one only needed a majority of votes but two questions were asked:

First ballot paper: "Parliament has decided to consult people in Scotland on the Government's proposals for a Scottish Parliament" and the electorate had to choose between "I agree that there should be a Scottish Parliament" and "I do not agree that there should be a Scottish Parliament".

Second ballot paper: "Parliament has decided to consult people in Scotland on the Government's proposals for a Scottish Parliament to have tax-varying powers" and the electorate had to choose between "I agree that a Scottish Parliament should have tax-varying powers" and "I do not agree that a Scottish Parliament should have tax-varying powers". More people could vote in this referendum than for the previous one; if they were 18 years old and above, the Scottish residents but also the nationals of the European Union living in Scotland. There were 74.3% of Yes for the first question and 63.5% of Yes for the second one.

Scotland obtained devolution and then its own Parliament in 1999 that gave more powers to the country. The Scottish Parliament was offered the right to make laws on health, agriculture, education, law, transport and the local government but couldn't take part in foreign policy or issues that concerned the United Kingdom and not only Scotland.

In 2007, after local elections in Scotland, the Scottish National Party, in favour of independence, became the most represented party within the Scottish Parliament. This

⁷"The SNP is a centre-left party which campaigns for Scottish independence. It has held power in Scotland since 2007, when it became a government party for the first time in its history after winning the Scottish Parliament election with a narrow one-seat majority. Most commentators explained this first SNP victory through external factors, mainly the decline of the Labour Party both within the Scottish political arena and British-wide.", Nathalie Duclos in *New Technology, Organizational Change and Governance*, p.118.

party wanted to organize a referendum on self-government, a term which was then replaced by independence. To this day, the SNP would like to restore all its powers to the Scottish Parliament:

The aims of the party shall be: (a) Independence for Scotland; that is the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty by the restoration of full powers to the Scottish Parliament, so that its authority is limited only by the sovereign power of the Scottish People to bind it with a written constitution and by such agreements as it may freely enter into with other nations or states or international organizations for the purpose of furthering international cooperation, world peace and the protection of the environment. (b) The furtherance of all Scottish interests⁸.

⁸ Constitution of the Scottish National Party, 2004.

I.3. The 2014 referendum

On October 15th 2012, the British Prime Minister David Cameron and the Scottish Prime Minister Alex Salmond signed the Edinburgh Agreement; Agreement on a referendum on independence for Scotland which would take place on September 18th 2014. This date is highly symbolical since it was the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn⁹, where the Scots won the battle against the English. It was also the year when the Commonwealth Games and the Ryder Cup would be organized in Scotland.

Although Scotland already has its own Assembly and Parliament, called Holyrood because of the district where it is located, the question that was asked to the Scots was “Should Scotland be an independent country?” This issue opposed two camps: “Yes Scotland”, in favour of an independent Scotland and “Better Together”, in favour of staying within the United Kingdom.

For this referendum, exceptionally, people above 16 years old were able to vote. It was the first time people of 16 or 17 could vote in Great Britain for such an important suffrage. At the time, the polls revealed that young people were more likely to vote in favour of independence, that is why many thought it was one of the SNP’s strategies to have more ballots¹⁰. In a voting guide for the 2014 referendum, it was written that:

You can vote in the referendum if you are registered to vote in Scotland, are 16 or over on Thursday 18 September 2014 and are:

- A British or Irish citizen living in Scotland, or
- A European Union citizen living in Scotland, or
- A qualifying Commonwealth citizen living in Scotland

There are special provisions for the registration of members of the Armed Forces, Crown servants (e.g. in the diplomatic service or overseas civil service) and British Council employees¹¹.

⁹ “Battle of Bannockburn (June 23-24, 1314), decisive battle in Scottish history whereby the Scots under Robert I (the Bruce) defeated the English under Edward II, expanding Robert’s territory and influence.”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

¹⁰ Nathalie Duclos, *L’Ecosse en quête d’indépendance ? Le référendum de 2014*, p.114.

¹¹ The Electoral Commission, *The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum Voting Guide*, p.3.

As for any vote, a campaign was held in Scotland, and even beyond the Scottish boundaries. Indeed, the English politicians, not really concerned with the results at the beginning of the campaign, started to worry about it in August 2014, only a few weeks before the referendum. This campaign was almost as important as the result in itself to raise awareness among people about independence and the topics that were raised during these two years were about oil in particular but also the European Union membership, currency, nuclear power and weapons or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The official referendum campaign lasted about sixteen weeks; it began at the end of May 2014 but a pre-campaign began a long time ago, when the two main camps were created in 2012.

II. The 2014 campaign for Scotland to become independent

II.1. Yes Scotland

The Scottish National Party (SNP) created “Yes Scotland” in May 2012. Some people who didn't belong to the political party were included in this camp and Blair Jenkins, a former journalist who worked for STV and BBC, was put at its head. An advisory board was formed in August 2012, composed of some celebrities like Elaine C. Smith (actress) and Pat Kane (member of Hue&Cry) or politicians like Tasmina Ahmed Sheikh (former member of the Conservative party) and even young people like Ellie Koeplinger, 16 years old. There was not only the SNP in this camp; indeed, in July 2012, “Labour for Independence” a group of members from the Labour party that were pro-independence, joined them in the campaign¹².

A “Yes Declaration” was written, on the model of the American one, and stated:

I believe it is fundamentally better for us all, if decisions about Scotland's future are taken by the people who care most about Scotland, that is, by the people of Scotland.

Being independent means Scotland's future will be in Scotland's hands.

There is no doubt that Scotland has great potential. We are blessed with talent, resources and creativity. We have the opportunity to make our nation a better place to live, for this and future generations. We can build a greener, fairer and more prosperous society that is stronger and more successful than it is today.

I want a Scotland that speaks with her own voice and makes her own unique contribution to the world: a Scotland that stands alongside the other nations on these isles, as an independent nation¹³.

In November 2013, a White Paper called “Scotland’s future: your guide to an independent Scotland”, written by the Scottish government, was presented to the electorate. It is again

¹² Edwige Camp-Pietrain, *L’Ecosse et la tentation de l’indépendance : le référendum d’autodétermination de 2014*.

¹³ Déclaration du parti « Yes Scotland » intitulée « Yes Declaration ».

an extremely long (about 670 pages) and in-depth explanation about what would happen if Scotland became an independent country. On the first page of this work, you can read:

If we vote Yes, we take the next step on Scotland's journey. We will move forward with confidence, ready to make the most of the many opportunities that lie ahead. The most important decisions about our economy and society will be taken by the people who care most about Scotland, that is by the people of Scotland. The door will open to a new era for our nation. Scotland's future will be in Scotland's hands. If we vote No, Scotland stands still. A once in a generation opportunity to follow a different path, and choose a new and better direction for our nation, is lost. Decisions about Scotland would remain in the hands of others¹⁴.

The SNP's campaign was led by Angus Robertson but Gordon Wilson, former leader of the SNP declared that there was no emotional dimension in the "Yes Scotland" campaign and told his political party to be more aggressive towards Westminster in the case of a majority of "no". The "Yes Scotland" supporters recorded the way "Better Together" behaved; according to the former, they tried to intimidate the electorate to have their votes, a strategy that the pro-independents called "Project Fear".

According to the SNP, if people voted in favour of independence, there would not be any change concerning the currency; the Scots would keep the Pound and the country would still be ruled over by Elizabeth II; there would be a monarchy as long as the Scots wished it, as it is explained in the White Paper:

On independence, Her Majesty The Queen will remain our head of state, just as she is for 16 Commonwealth countries. Scotland will be a constitutional monarchy for as long as the people of Scotland wish us to be so¹⁵.

The SNP also explained that it would be possible to have a dual citizenship: Scottish and English and that Scotland would keep the same political regime. Its wish was to stay within the European Union, which would have been more interesting for the country. Concerning NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), Scotland would first no longer

¹⁴ *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland*, p.1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45.

be part of it but the SNP then changed its mind on the condition that there would be no more nuclear base in Scotland, which could have hardly been accepted by NATO.

In this campaign, any argument was worth taking and to influence people in their vote, no better way than to have recourse to celebrities.

II.2. The role of celebrities

Celebrities' commitment has always seemed to work more or less to convince people to support a cause. In politics, even if celebrities are not really able to urge an electorate to vote for this or that camp, they seem useful in that they can encourage them simply to vote. Of course, it only works on people who are not already involved in politics; if you are already involved, you don't need anyone to tell you to vote and for whom. For the referendum of 2014, people of 16 and 17 years old were exceptionally allowed to vote and it is known that young people are more likely to be influenced by celebrities than the rest of the population; the vote may also have been influenced for this reason. It must be told that the celebrities can't be paid for taking part into a political side, they do it of their own free will and it is probably why people trust them and why their interventions are so important in this campaign.

In Robert Wirth's article, "Committed Tuppence-worth: When Celebrities Dabble in Scottish Politics" from the *Observatoire de la société britannique*, some information can be found on which celebrities campaigned for the referendum and for which side.

The Scottish Euro-million lottery winners, Colin and Chris Weir became famous thanks to their donation to the Yes Scotland campaign; they financed it to a large extent and were of a great importance for the camp. Some major figures of the cinema took part in the Yes Scotland campaign as well, like Brian Cox, Alan Cumming and Sean Connery, who were all born in Scotland. Brian Cox and Alan Cumming came to the ceremony for the beginning of the referendum yes campaign and a message from Sean Connery, who has been in favour of an independent Scotland for a long time, was read out there. But the three of them were then kept back from the campaign because of their lack of legitimacy, which could have put Yes Scotland at a disadvantage, since they lived abroad.

During the campaign, some historical figures were "used" to try to influence the electorate. There is the example of the former Scottish Prime Minister, Alex Salmond who said that Sir Walter Scott, author of *Waverley*, would have been in favour of independence¹⁶.

¹⁶ Robert Wirth, "Committed Tuppence-worth: When Celebrities Dabble in Scottish Politics", *Observatoire de la société britannique*.

II.3. Why people voted yes

For the 2014 referendum, 55.3% of the electorate voted “no” and 44.7% voted “yes”. In order to understand these results, it could be interesting to see the different reasons why people voted “yes”.

First, it seems that unemployment was an important point for people in favour of independence. “*What we have found is a very strong correlation between the Yes vote and a higher level of unemployment*¹⁷.” Indeed, we could guess that people who had a comfortable position didn’t really need any change, on the contrary, they wouldn’t take the risk to potentially lose some privileges. On the other hand, people having some difficulties to live, didn’t have anything to lose and were probably more susceptible to take risks and to vote in favour of independence; in favour of a great change.

The latest annual unemployment figures show North Ayrshire the worst affected with a rate of 13.5% of the adult population. This area returned a narrow No vote of 51%.

Neighbouring East Ayrshire has the second-highest unemployment rate with 11.4% and Dundee – which voted Yes – is third with 11.3%.

At the other end of the scale, Shetland, which voted strongly No, has the lowest unemployment with 3.2%, followed by Aberdeenshire on 3.3%¹⁸.

The results showed that the youth voted “yes” for the majority. “*Among the wider 16-24-year-old age group the Yes vote was 51%, according to the poll*¹⁹.” In the most populated city of Scotland, Glasgow, where the majority voted “yes”, there is a large part of the population that is young. “*Glasgow is the area with the biggest total population in Scotland and also has a high number of teen voters*²⁰.” This could mean that young people feared less to see their country changing and maybe wanted a fresh start for Scotland, contrary to the ageing population.

¹⁷ Christine Jeavans, “In maps: how close was the Scottish referendum vote?”, *BBC News*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Finally, among those who were – and are probably still today – in favour of independence, there were people who thought that the decisions for Scotland had to be taken by this country and that Scotland would have a better future as an independent country. These people consider themselves much more Scottish than British and are proud of their origins and culture.

III. The 2014 campaign for Scotland to stay within the United Kingdom

III.1. Better Together

“Better Together” was created in June 2012 by three unionist parties, in favour of keeping the union created in 1707 (Labour, Conservatives²¹ and Liberal Democrats²²). This camp wanted a member of the Labour party to lead them since it was the dominant party in Scotland, that is why they chose Alistair Darling who had worked with Tony Blair and Gordon Brown.

“Better Together” was supported by some sportsmen like Gavin Hastings (rugby player), Chris Hoy (cyclist), Alexander McLeish or Alex Ferguson (both football players) and celebrities like Ewan McGregor, Billy Connolly (actors), Sharleen Spiteri or Bobby Gillespie (musicians)²³.

During the campaign, “Better Together” used the slogan “No Thanks” in its publicity, on the model of the slogan of Quebec’s referendum in 1980. As it was written earlier, different political parties took part in the camp but “Better Together” refused to work with UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party), in favour of keeping Scotland within the United Kingdom, explaining that “*they [were] not a Scottish party*”. After that, UKIP declared about “Better Together” that they were “*petty and small minded*”.

The anti-independence camp used several strategies to convince the electorate like what was called the “Fear Factor” and later the “Love Bombing”.

The fear factor is defined as “*the extent to which a person's fear keeps them from doing something; any feeling of fear that prevents an action*”. In the case of Scotland, the members of Better Together tried to scare the voters by explaining what would “badly” happen if Scotland became an independent country so that they would eventually vote against the proposition of independence. For example, at the very beginning of the

²¹ “The Conservative Party traditionally defends right-wing liberal policies (individualism, tax reduction, mixed economy, private enterprise, freedom of choice in education, property ownership)”, Françoise Grellet, *A Cultural Guide To: The United Kingdom and Ireland, The Commonwealth, The United States*, p.40.

²² “The Liberal Democrat Party is more liberal, pro-European and in favour of constitutional reform”, Françoise Grellet, p.40.

²³ Fiona Simpkins, « Better Together and the No Campaign: From Project Fear to Grace? », *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 2015.

campaign, during Alistair Darling's inauguration speech of the Better Together campaign in June 2012, *“the debate was dragged into bitter disputes over the financial risks entailed by independence, the looming spectre of recession, the loss of Scotland's EU membership and other cataclysmic-like scenarios to name but a few²⁴”*. But the fear factor declined and Better Together began to turn to love bombing.

The term “love bomb” is used to talk about the fact of persuading people from a country to stay in a union; for example the province of Quebec was persuaded to stay within Canada by other provinces.

In the case of Scotland, the members of Better Together tried to persuade the voters to stay within the United Kingdom like David Cameron in one of his speeches when he said: *“We would be deeply diminished without Scotland”*, *“For me, the best thing about the Olympics wasn't the winning. It was the red, white and blue”*, *“It was the summer patriotism came out of the shadows and into the sun, everyone cheering as one for team GB²⁵”*, *“Separating Scotland out of that brand (UK institutions) would be like separating the waters of the River Tweed and the North Sea”*, *“If we lost Scotland, if the UK changed, we would rip the rug from under our own reputation. The plain fact is that we matter more in the world together”*, *“So let other UK citizens phone a relative or friend to persuade them to stay in the UK²⁶”*.

²⁴ F. Simpkins, « Better Together and the No Campaign », art.cit.

²⁵ G. Wilson, *Scotland: The Battle for Independence*, op. cit., p.209.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.210.

III.2. The role of celebrities

In addition to David Cameron, British Prime Minister at the time, and Eddy Izzard, a British humorist, Joanne Rowling, better known under the pen name J. K. Rowling, announced that she supported the Better Together side. Nevertheless, it is hard for a celebrity to support a cause that is not supported by everybody; it is indeed much more difficult to support a political cause than a humanitarian one. That is why it is ambiguous because even if some people probably joined the cause thanks to J. K. Rowling, it was a risk at the same time since she was not taken seriously by everybody.

Some other celebrities who were born in Scotland decided not to say anything concerning the Scottish referendum on independence like Andy Murray, who didn't want to influence people. Others, like the actors James McAvoy and Peter Capaldi, hesitated to enter a cause because of what would come then.

Finally, some puppets and cartoon characters were also used during the Scottish referendum campaign: Miss Piggy from "The Muppet Show" was in favour of independence whereas Kermit the Frog was in favour of keeping the union, and the groundskeeper Willie from "The Simpsons" expressed his wish for independence in one of the episodes. What is quite surprising is that the first two are not Scots at all; a lot of people felt the need to give their opinion on this referendum, even those who had nothing to do with Scotland. Yes Scotland even created its own character, Duggy Dug to attract the electorate.

III.3. Why people voted no

As it was said earlier, 55.3% of the electorate voted “no” and people in favour of the union were obviously in opposition with those in favour of independence.

First, many well-off people were against independence and couldn't imagine their life differently. Paradoxically, the ageing population feared not to earn enough in an independent country. Indeed, they were given a certain amount of money by the United Kingdom and what they would have been given if Scotland had become independent was clearly uncertain.

That the elderly population voted NO in large numbers was also due in no small part to fears about economic matters about the currency and the loss of the pound sterling, and around concerns about the future of pensions, many of which are tied up in UK-wide pension funds²⁷.

Nevertheless, the elderly persons were not the only ones who feared about economic matters. A lot of people feared that the country would suffer without the union. Indeed, by staying within the union, there wouldn't be any great change and there would be no “risks” whereas voting in favour of independence would be like leaping in the void for some people because they were not certain about what would exactly happen and the Better Together campaign used this argument to gain some votes.

The debate around Scotland's currency played well for the NO side and this was a strong and successful weapon in the almost entirely negative campaign of the pro-UK Better Together campaign²⁸.

People's votes were also extremely influenced by the fear factor:

[The NO campaign] raised fears, well-grounded fears, it must be said, about jobs moving south to England, prices of food items and other costs increasing; uncertainty around Scotland's future under Independence over currency and its ability to be part of a monetary with the rest of the UK, thereby undermining living standards and pensions. In this the No campaign was

²⁷ Gerry Mooney, “The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum – Why was there a NO vote?” *Open Learn*.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

helped by the interventions of leading banks and financial institutions, supermarkets, oil companies and other businesses, making statements that with a YES vote price would increase and jobs would be lost²⁹.

Then, as many voters in favour of independence felt more Scottish than British, a lot of voters in favour of keeping the union felt really proud to be British and didn't want to be separated from the United Kingdom. Furthermore, the intervention of the media influenced the electorate; they kept repeating that the No side would win and were often themselves in favour of staying within the union.

Finally, only a few days before the referendum, the political parties which supported the Better Together camp – Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties – promised to give more powers to the Scottish Parliament if people refused independence. David Cameron said: *“If we get a No vote, that will trigger a major, unprecedented programme of devolution, with additional powers for the Scottish Parliament – major new powers over tax, spending and welfare services.”* Many people were then attracted by this proposition and voted for the No side.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

As it was said earlier, there were many reasons for the electorate to vote against independence in the last referendum. The main point was that people feared what would happen for them, mostly on the economic level. On the top of that, they were influenced by the media and even by some celebrities and cartoons or series that sometimes had nothing to do with politics or even with Scotland.

On September 18th 2014, the No side won and independence was rejected by the majority of the electorate. In spite of this result, Nick Clegg, Deputy Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the time, declared that it “*was clearly not a vote against change*”. With a final result of 55.3% of no and 44.7% of yes, it was not a complete defeat for the pro-independence. Indeed, once again, Scotland could hope to gain more powers for the Scottish Parliament since the leaders of the pro-union promised it to them. Alex Salmond, Scottish Prime Minister and leader of the Scottish National Party at the time, said that they had to keep their promises and David Cameron, former British Prime Minister explained: “*Scotland will expect these to be honoured in rapid course*”, “*We must now deliver on time and in full the radical package of newly devolved powers to Scotland*”.

Unfortunately for them, it seems that the vow has not been completely respected. Indeed, in 2016, the United Kingdom decided to leave the European Union with the “Brexit” while Scotland didn’t want it to happen. According to the SNP, it is a betrayal and the major promise that was not respected:

After being told by the Tory Westminster government and No campaign in 2014 that the way to protect Scotland’s place in Europe was to vote No, we now find ourselves potentially being dragged out of the EU against our will – and unfortunately for people in Scotland, this is only the most obvious of the broken promises from the anti-independence parties³⁰.

With the “mistake” from the pro-union leaders, the SNP now seems to try to discredit the Westminster government, maybe in the hope of winning another potential referendum on independence.

³⁰ Derek Mackay, “Broken promises by Tories and No campaign since #IndyRef”, *SNP*.

B. PARTIE DIDACTIQUE

Présentation de la séquence

La campagne pour le référendum de 2014 sur l'indépendance de l'Écosse est un sujet quelque peu ambitieux pour un niveau collège, c'est pourquoi je proposerais davantage une séquence sur ce sujet à des lycéens, de préférence issus du cycle terminal. La classe ciblée sera la terminale. En effet, les élèves de cette classe pourraient se sentir concernés par le sujet en sachant que des jeunes de 16 et 17 ans ont exceptionnellement été autorisés à voter pour ce référendum.

Il pourrait être envisagé de proposer cette séquence dans le cadre de la section européenne, malheureusement, si l'on se penche sur le programme d'Histoire-Géographie de première et terminale (les cours de section européenne devant entrer dans le programme d'une matière autre que les langues vivantes), on se rend compte que ce sujet ne pourrait pas y entrer. J'ai donc décidé d'intégrer la séquence dans les deux notions suivantes : 'Lieux et formes du pouvoir' et 'L'idée de progrès'.

Tâche finale

“As a committed young person and in preparation for the potential next referendum, prepare a propaganda video (about three minutes) to express your opinion ('Better Together' or 'Yes Scotland')”

« En tant que jeune engagé et en vue de l'éventuel prochain référendum, prépare une vidéo de propagande d'environ trois minutes pour exprimer une opinion (Better Together ou Yes Scotland). Tu réutiliseras les connaissances culturelles et linguistiques acquises lors de la séquence ».

Pour que les élèves réussissent ce projet, on proposera parmi les documents étudiés des publicités de propagande telles que celles réalisées par les deux camps. Une vidéo YouTube, « The 8 Best Ads in the Scottish Independence Referendum Campaign »,

recense quelques-unes d'entre elles :
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pO3Jm1XD8h8>. Celles-ci pourront leur servir d'exemples et leur donner des idées pour la réalisation de leur propre vidéo.

Objectifs

- Culturels : L'Ecosse / Le référendum de 2014 / La campagne et ses deux camps / Les Simpsons
- Linguistiques :
 - Lexicaux : Les expressions pour donner son opinion (I think, in my opinion, it seems to me that...) / Le lexique du vote (campaign, voters, ballot, referendum, majority...)
 - Grammaticaux : Les modaux (should, have to, must, will...) / Le passif
 - Phonologiques : L'accent écossais / Les mots et expressions utilisés en Ecosse
- Méthodologiques : Travailler en équipe / Utiliser les TICE / Convaincre son auditoire

Séance 1

En premier lieu, de manière à introduire le thème de la séquence, l'utilisation de caricatures sur l'éventuelle indépendance de l'Ecosse serait pertinente. Elles sont très nombreuses mais mon choix s'est porté sur les trois suivantes :



Brian Adcock's cartoon



KAL's cartoon in *The Economist*



Frank Boyle's cartoon in *Edinburgh News*

Ces caricatures seront distribuées aux élèves qui travailleront en binômes. En effet, chaque binôme devra prendre des notes sur une des trois caricatures à partir de consignes simples : « Describe, explain, find the message ». Après un moment de réflexion, les caricatures seront projetées au tableau et les élèves pourront alors mettre en commun leurs idées lors d'une Expression Orale en Interaction. Une trace écrite commune sera donc réalisée : les élèves présenteront les documents puis en feront la description ainsi qu'un début d'analyse. Des mots comme « caricature, cartoon, Scotland, separate, England, Queen, currency, BBC, independence, vote, criticizing » seront attendus. Ces documents

permettront donc non seulement d'amener le thème de la séquence de manière implicite mais également de faire émaner des élèves un certain nombre de mots de vocabulaire qui leur seront utiles par la suite. Nous pourrions alors expliciter les adjectifs Scots et Scottish et leurs emplois respectifs qui poseront certainement problème à ce stade de la séquence. Enfin, cette anticipation sera aussi l'occasion de présenter les différents personnages présents dans les caricatures. Même si certains pourront peut-être reconnaître David Cameron, il est très probable que les autres personnalités politiques (Nicola Sturgeon, Alex Salmond et Alistair Darling) ne soient pas identifiées par les élèves. Un point de civilisation britannique sera donc indispensable.

Séance 2

La tâche finale étant une production orale, nous travaillerons les activités langagières orales en priorité, mais il est préférable de travailler également les activités langagières écrites. C'est pourquoi je proposerai l'article de BBC News qui suit :

Q&A: Scottish independence referendum

Next autumn, the people of Scotland will vote on whether the nation should become an independent country. The deal to hold the referendum has been done and the date has been set - now it's up to the campaigners to put their case.

When is the referendum happening?

After much teasing - Scottish First Minister and Scottish National Party leader Alex Salmond named the day as Thursday, 18 September, 2014.

Why this date? Practical matters like October holidays, the UK party conference season and Scotland's famed wintry weather were all potential obstacles.

Incidentally, 2014 also happens to be the year two prestigious sporting events - the Ryder Cup golf tournament and the Commonwealth Games - are being held in Scotland.

And for the more romantically-minded, next year is also the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, which saw the English

army defeated by the forces of King of Scots Robert the Bruce, during the wars of independence.

Who gets to vote?

Essentially, everyone over the age of 16 who lives in Scotland.

The voter "franchise", as it's known, is largely the same as for a Scottish Parliament and council elections, with the addition of lowering the voting age from 18.

That means the 800,000 Scots who live in other parts of the UK don't get a vote, while the 400,000 people from elsewhere in Britain who live in Scotland do.

All the main players on both sides of the debate agree this is the fairest way to do things.

What will be on the ballot paper?

Voters will be asked the yes/no question: "Should Scotland be an independent country?"

The Scottish government's original version of the question, "Do you agree that Scotland should be an independent country?", was dropped after the Electoral Commission raised concerns it could lead people into voting "yes".

Past incarnations of the referendum question have proved far more wordy.

The SNP previously said people could be asked to vote "Yes I agree" or "No I disagree" to the statement: "The Scottish Parliament should negotiate a new settlement with the British government, based on the proposals set out in the white paper, so that Scotland becomes a sovereign and independent state."

Who will be campaigning?

Yes Scotland is the official campaign for independence, while **Better Together** is the group arguing to keep the Union.

Various political parties have given their support to the two campaigns, depending on their constitutional persuasion, although they are also running their own campaigns, as are the Scottish and UK governments.

The Scottish Greens also back independence, as does independent MSP Margo MacDonald, while Labour, the Tories and the Liberal Democrats are opposed.

It's likely that other campaign groups will spring up as the campaign goes on.

Cet article interviendrait en début de séquence de manière à faire comprendre aux élèves les principaux points du référendum pour l'indépendance de 2014. Ici, l'article est coupé, je n'ai pas gardé toutes les questions qui y sont posées, seulement celles qui pour moi, sont les plus importantes pour la séquence. Le fait d'avoir supprimé des éléments va permettre une meilleure compréhension de la part des élèves.

Comme anticipation au document, nous projetterons dans un premier temps le titre et la source uniquement pour que les élèves émettent des hypothèses quant au contenu : « Q&A: Scottish Independence Referendum, by Andrew Black, political reporter, BBC Scotland, 2013 ». On découpera ensuite le texte en plusieurs parties : les questions seront séparées de leurs réponses. Il sera possible de faire travailler les élèves par groupes en donnant les questions à toute la classe mais en ne donnant qu'une seule réponse par groupe. De cette manière, les élèves pourront interroger les autres groupes pour obtenir tous les éléments de réponse. Les groupes interrogés devront expliquer le texte qu'ils auront avec leurs propres mots. On donnera bien-sûr la totalité de l'article à chaque élève après cette activité. Vous trouverez l'article complet en suivant ce lien : <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-13326310>.

La trace écrite se fera donc à partir des productions orales des élèves pour résumer leur texte. De cette manière, toutes les informations concernant le référendum de 2014 seront présentes, cela permettra de faire comprendre clairement la situation aux élèves et apportera davantage de lexique pour la séquence.

A la suite de cette exploitation, nous proposerons aux élèves une Pratique Raisonnée de la Langue sur le passif, qu'ils pourront réutiliser lors de la réalisation de leur tâche finale, en se basant sur certaines phrases de l'article :

“Voters will be asked the yes/no question”

“The [...] original version of the question was dropped”

“The date has been set”

“Two prestigious sporting events are being held in Scotland”

“As it’s known”

Séance 3

Un autre document authentique, plus visuel cette fois-ci, pourra être proposé aux élèves. Il s’agit de la couverture de *The Economist*, datant d’avril 2012. On y voit le titre « It’ll cost you: The price of Scottish independence » ainsi qu’une carte de l’Ecosse sur laquelle les noms du pays, de ses régions et de ses villes ont été modifiés :



Le document sera projeté au tableau et des consignes seront données aux élèves :

« Look at the document and describe »

« Reactions? »

« Do you think the document is in favour of independence or not? Explain ».

Les élèves seront ici amenés à se rendre compte de ces changements et de la pointe d'humour qui se cache derrière. Après avoir compris que tout ce qui se cache dans les nouveaux noms donnés est négatif, ils pourront découvrir qu'un avis concernant le référendum pour l'indépendance de l'Ecosse est clairement prononcé sur cette couverture. Nous expliquerons donc que diverses stratégies ont été mises en place durant la campagne pour tenter d'influencer les votants.

Une trace écrite commune sera réalisée à partir des idées données par les élèves. Cela sera l'occasion de mettre en avant le fait que les médias / la presse s'impliquent dans cette campagne et peuvent être un moyen de faire pencher la balance pour un camp ou pour l'autre durant les années qui précèdent le vote. Les élèves pourront également donner leur avis sur ce document ainsi que sur ces pratiques en général et nous pourrons à ce moment-là faire un rebrassage des expressions qui permettent de le faire « I think, in my opinion, as far as I am concerned, it seems to me that... ».

Séance 4

Nous pourrons donc enchaîner avec un article tiré de *The Telegraph*, publié le 15 septembre 2014 portant sur David Beckham et sa position quant au référendum. Cela permettra de montrer l'implication des gens connus, même s'ils n'ont rien à voir avec le monde de la politique, dans cette campagne et l'influence qu'ils ont éventuellement pu avoir sur les votants.

Une anticipation au document sera faite grâce à la photographie ainsi qu'à la phrase d'accroche qui accompagnent l'article. Celles-ci seront projetées au tableau :



“The footballer says that he has a common bond with Scottish players and was thrilled to watch athletes from across the UK “compete together against the world” at the Olympics”

Les élèves seront de nouveau amenés à décrire le document et à donner leur avis, exprimer leur réaction quant au fait qu'il s'agisse d'une star. Peut-être pourront-ils déjà deviner que David Beckham soutient le camp « Better Together » grâce à la phrase d'accroche. Puisqu'il s'agit des jeux olympiques, il sera possible d'amener les élèves qui suivent le sport à expliquer au reste de la classe que l'Ecosse possède sa propre équipe de rugby ou de football par exemple (l'hymne national écossais est d'ailleurs joué avant les matchs), mais que dans la plupart des disciplines olympiques (en athlétisme notamment), il s'agit d'équipes britanniques. Nous pourrons ensuite donner le texte aux élèves :

David Beckham urges Scots to vote no and preserve 'historic bond'

David Beckham has entered the independence debate by calling on Scotland to remain in the Union and preserve the “historic bond” which is “the envy of the entire world”.

Entering the debate for the first time, former England and Manchester United star said he had been “thrilled” to be part of the team that brought the Olympics to London and to watch athletes from across the Union “competing together against the world.”

Giving his support to the Let’s Stay Together petition signed by 200 stars, academics and authors and tens of thousands of Britons, said the “pride and passion” of his fellow footballers when playing against Scotland had given him a “common bond” with the Scots.

“I took as much satisfaction in seeing Sir Chris Hoy or Andy Murray win gold as I did watching Jess Ennis and Mo Farah do the same in the Olympic Stadium”, he wrote.

“The decision on whether to leave our shared country is, of course down to you, it is not my intention to tell you what to do. Nevertheless, that decision will have a huge effect on each and every one of us in the United Kingdom.

“We want to let you know how very much we value our relationship and friendship. Of course regardless of your decision that will never change, however, my sincere hope is that you will vote to renew our historic bond which has been such a success over the centuries and the envy of the entire world. What unites us is much greater than what divides us. Let’s stay together.”

Les élèves devront, pour cette compréhension écrite, travailler en autonomie. C’est pourquoi une fiche leur sera tout de même donnée pour les guider. Les éléments suivants devront être relevés par les élèves :

“Note down the camp supported by David Beckham and quote from the text to justify your answer.”

“Pick out his different arguments”

“In your opinion, who is David Beckham addressing to in the last two paragraphs?”

Les éléments trouvés seront repris et reformulés par les élèves pour former la trace écrite et ainsi montrer qu’en plus des médias et de la presse, les célébrités sont, elles aussi,

engagées, donnent leur point de vue sur la question du référendum et vont même jusqu'à conseiller les votants sur le choix qu'ils devraient faire.

L'article complet peut être trouvé au lien suivant :
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scottish-independence/11095668/David-Beckham-urges-Scots-to-vote-no-and-preserve-historic-bond.html>

Séance 5

Il peut également être intéressant de travailler sur l'extrait d'un épisode de 'The Simpsons' dans lequel on peut voir Willie, un personnage écossais qui vit aux Etats-Unis, se prononcer sur l'indépendance de l'Ecosse. Il se positionne en faveur de celle-ci et suggère même de prendre la tête de ce pays. Il y a de grandes chances pour que les élèves soient motivés par un tel document, 'The Simpsons' étant une série très connue et très appréciée.

Nous anticiperons le document par la projection d'une capture d'écran :



Les élèves décriront l'image et émettront des hypothèses. Même s'ils ne connaissent pas la série, ils pourront facilement produire des énoncés tels que :

“This man may be Scottish since there is the Scottish flag in the background and he is wearing a typical Scottish costume.”

De la part de ceux qui connaissent un peu mieux la série, étant donné que 'The Simpsons' traite régulièrement de politique, il sera possible d'entendre des phrases comme :

“He is probably giving his opinion on the 2014 referendum on independence.”

Une activité de compréhension orale sera ensuite proposée aux élèves afin de vérifier leurs hypothèses. Nous passerons par un tableau pour récolter les informations principales. Le tableau permet en effet de ne pas laisser les élèves livrés à eux même en

les guidant, sans les enfermer dans une seule réponse possible (ce qui aurait été le cas si nous leur avions directement posé des questions).

Le tableau suivant sera donc donné aux élèves (les réponses, en italiques, sont des propositions qui seront éventuellement données par les élèves) :

PEOPLE	OPINION ON INDEPENDENCE	ARGUMENTS	PROPOSITION FOR A LEADER
<i>Groundskeeper Willie</i> <i>The Scots</i> <i>William Wallace, Andy Murray</i>	<i>First “hesitant to throw [his] support to either side”</i> <i>Then “Scotland should be free”</i>	<i>“Scotland is the home to two-thirds of Europe oil’s reserves”</i> <i>“We make a famed damn whiskey and we spell whiskey right”</i>	<i>Groundskeeper Willie</i> <i>“I’ve lived in America most of my life so I’ve seen how not to run a country”</i>

Après ce travail, nous demanderons aux élèves de s’intéresser à ce qui est écrit sur Willie :

“Try to guess the meaning of “Aye or Die!” in English”

En sachant que Willie est pour l’indépendance de l’Ecosse, les élèves devineront facilement le sens de ‘Aye’ et nous pourrons alors leur expliquer que, bien que très peu d’écossais parlent écossais, beaucoup utilisent des mots ou expressions qui leur sont propres et qu’il n’est pas toujours évident de les comprendre. Nous ferons alors une introduction à ces expressions en travaillant sur leur réalisation phonétique et en laissant deviner leur sens aux élèves :

- Aye /ai/ : yes
- Nay – Nae /nei/ : Not / No
- Ye : You
- Yer : your
- Dinnae : Don’t
- Doesnae : Doesn’t
- Didnae : Didn’t

- Cannae : Can't
- Oot : Out
- I'm nae : I'm not
- Isnae : Isn't
- Mair : More
- Muckle : Much/a lot
- Fit like? (Aberdeen) : How are you?
- Wheesht! : Be quiet!
- A Sassenach : An English person

Vous trouverez la vidéo en suivant ce lien : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W6vDzf-wSbk>

En guise de trace écrite, les élèves résumeront ce qui a été dit dans l'extrait et nous veillerons à intégrer quelques mots ou expressions utilisés en Ecosse. Pour terminer, nous mettrons l'accent sur le fait que « The Simpsons » ait choisi de participer au débat lors de la campagne pour le référendum de 2014. En effet, au-delà des médias et des célébrités, les séries télévisées se sont également impliquées dans cet événement.

Séance 6

Je terminerai ma séquence avec l'étude de vidéos publicitaires pour la campagne du référendum, comme je l'ai dit plus tôt. En effet, il pourrait être intéressant de montrer les huit publicités que l'on retrouve dans la vidéo « The 8 Best Ads in the Scottish Independence Referendum Campaign » en laissant les élèves trouver pour quel camp chacune d'entre elles a été créée « Yes Scotland » ou « Better Together ». On leur demandera de repérer les éléments qui leur ont permis de trouver la réponse pour qu'ils puissent ensuite eux-mêmes réutiliser ces éléments dans leur vidéo qui constituera la tâche finale.

Cette séance se déroulera en salle multimédia. Les élèves seront amenés à travailler sur une des huit vidéos par groupes de trois environ. Nous modifierons les vidéos en amont de la séance de façon à ce que les slogans, qui apparaissent souvent en

fin de vidéo ne soient pas visibles par les élèves. Chaque groupe devra donc relever les arguments et deviner pour quel camp leur vidéo a été réalisée.

Après ce travail, une première vidéo sera diffusée devant la classe entière. Après un seul visionnage, les élèves font part de leurs idées quant au camp en question et le groupe qui a travaillé sur la vidéo donne ensuite sa réponse et présente les arguments qui lui ont permis de trouver la réponse. Dans le même temps, le reste de la classe prend des notes pour avoir les arguments de chaque vidéo. Ces actions seront répétées pour chacune des vidéos. La prise de notes de la part des élèves sur chaque vidéo fait office de trace écrite.

Tous les documents vidéos de la séquence seront évidemment déposés sur le réseau de l'établissement (il s'agit souvent d'Enoe ou de Pronote). Ainsi, les élèves pourront les consulter autant de fois qu'ils le souhaitent de manière à préparer au mieux leur tâche finale.

Critères de notation de la tâche finale

	A2	B1	B2
Correction grammaticale et richesse du lexique	L'élève ne sait mobiliser qu'une partie du vocabulaire appris. Les phrases ne comportent pas ou peu de structures vues en classe. 1 ou 2 points	Une bonne partie du vocabulaire vu en classe a su être mobilisé. Les phrases sont globalement correctes mais des erreurs sur des structures connues subsistent. 3 ou 4 points	L'élève mobilise le vocabulaire de manière pertinente. Très peu d'erreurs sur le réemploi des structures vues en classe. Il sait aussi faire appel à des acquis antérieurs. 5 points
Arguments	Manque d'idées par manque de connaissances / vocabulaire. 1 point	Contenu un peu superficiel par manque d'idées / de vocabulaire. 2 points	Contenu riche et détaillé. 3 points
Prononciation	L'élève n'est pas toujours audible. Il est parfois difficile de le comprendre. 1 point	La présentation est tout à fait compréhensible malgré des erreurs de prononciation sur des mots connus. 2 points	Peu d'erreurs de prononciation. Présentation bien audible et compréhensible. 3 points
Aisance à l'oral	Des hésitations et des faux démarrages. Débit trop lent. 1 point	Bon débit malgré quelques hésitations. 2 points	Prise en compte de l'auditoire, convaincant, débit fluide. 3 points
Conviction / Intensité	L'élève ne semble pas convaincu par ce qu'il dit et a du mal à convaincre l'auditoire. 1 point	L'élève semble plutôt convaincu par ce qu'il dit et arrive parfois à convaincre l'auditoire. 2 points	L'élève met de l'intensité dans son message et parvient à convaincre l'auditoire. 3 points
Qualité de la vidéo / Originalité	Vidéo de qualité moyenne, peu ou pas d'originalité. 1 point	Vidéo plutôt bien réalisée, quelques bonnes idées. 2 points	Vidéo très bien réalisée, mise en scène et idées originales. 3 points

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Summary

This work deals with Scotland's relation to independence and the referendums which took place in this country in 1979 (which was not a success), in 1997 (which let Scotland reach devolution and gain more powers) and in 2014, when Scotland didn't become independent but was not very far from it. This essay particularly concentrates on the campaign for the 2014 referendum, what was at stake and what led to the final result.

Key words

Referendum – Independence – Campaign – Scotland – Devolution – United Kingdom – Scottish National Party – New Labour Party – Conservative Party – Yes Scotland – Better Together